TOWARD A REINVENTED FUTURE FOR PROBATION

Having considered the characteristics of probation and the ideologies and research guiding its practice, this section now considers some of the procedures commonly undertaken by probation professionals. It is organized around the seven key strategies for a rational probation system recommended by the Reinventing Probation Council (2000b). While many of these procedures are typically used in probation, this section will strive to point out "promising practices" and programs that are particularly forward-thinking in their application.

Strategy #1: Place Public Safety First

The Reinventing Probation Council (2000b) defines public safety as "the extent to which persons and property are free from attack or theft, that is, from the threat or risk of harm in particular places at particular times" (p. 20). To accomplish this, probation must be proactive in its strategies and use community-centered and neighborhood-based approaches. Emerging methods for achieving this broadened mission will be discussed subsequently.

However, the Reinventing Probation Council (2000b) also states that "targeting individual criminal offenders for correction or confinement will forever remain a necessary but not a sufficient response if the goal is to provide the citizenry with assurances of public and personal safety" (p. 20). This is the point at which this examination of probation practices begins. Based on the "What Works" literature, lower risk offenders are, as a group, much less likely to continue to commit criminal offenses, and the focus of probation's efforts and resources should be on identifying and effectively supervising higher risk offenders. Correctly identifying, and successfully working with high risk offenders leads to decreased criminal behavior and, thus, greater public safety. Risk and needs assessment and case classification are important tasks within probation. Regardless of where probation activities are conducted, surveillance and treatment efforts need to be focused on those at highest risk of reoffending, and to do that,

. . .no other justice agency is involved with the offender and his case as comprehensively as the probation department. Every other agency completes their work, and hands the case over to the next decision maker. . . .but the probation department interacts with all of these agencies, provides the data that influences each of their processing decisions, and takes charge of the offender's supervision at any point when the system decides to return the offender to the community.

probation must use appropriate assessment and classification strategies.

Risk and Needs Assessment of Offenders

Case assessment and planning is important at two levels:
- when making decisions about the most appropriate alternatives and services for *individual* offenders, and
- when making *agency* or *jurisdictional* plans for probation services.

Assessment and classification often address multiple levels of decision-making, ranging from the individual offender, to the program or agency, and even to the wider jurisdictional level. Among the goals of the criminal justice system are those that are socially-centered and offender-centered. The socially-centered goals include modifying an offender's behavior so it conforms to the law, and therefore promotes the protection of society. To do this, however, offender-centered goals, such as attitudinal changes and increased coping ability, must be achieved, resulting in modification of the offender's behavior and a better adjustment between the individual and his or her environment. Therefore, the most appropriate fit between the offender's risk and needs and treatment resources must be achieved. Assessment and classification should both predict and prescribe the needs and treatment approaches best suited for an offender (Palmer, 1984).

Two fundamental reasons for using a formal assessment and classification system are asserted (National Council on Crime and Delinquency [NCCD], 1997, p. 4; Wiebush et al., 1995, p. 174). They include:
- providing greater validity, structure, and consistency to the assessment and decision-making processes; and
- a more efficient allocation of limited system resources by targeting the most intensive/intrusive interventions on the most serious, violent, and chronic offenders.

Resources are always limited, and classification systems help channel offenders into the least restrictive, least intrusive, and usually least expensive program resources that reasonably can be expected to control and change their behavior and protect the public. Classification helps programs identify offenders with greater and lesser potential for continued involvement in criminal behavior, and therefore, jurisdictions can plan more effectively to develop sufficient program resources. Program evaluation is also connected to assessment and classification. Once offenders are directed to the appropriate programs and subgroups within programs,

it is expected that the socially-centered and offender-centered goals will be achieved successfully. Program outcomes can be measured for program evaluation, and if necessary, program components can be adapted to more closely accomplish these goals.

Peters (1988, p. 1) summarizes the rationale for case assessment and classification by saying, ". . .a supervision classification system is the agency's primary mechanism for organizing staff and other agency resources, [and] it is the central tool for implementing supervision policy and making agency mission operational."

Case assessment and classification can satisfy several objectives. Table 15 provides an overview of some of the major goals of case assessment and classification that have been identified through literature reviews. This is not an exhaustive list, nor are the categories mutually exclusive, but it may provide planners with ideas for selecting the purpose and goals of their program's assessment and classification components.

Table 15

**POSSIBLE GOALS AND APPLICATIONS FOR
CASE ASSESSMENT AND CLASSIFICATION**

Type of Goal/Purpose	Possible Applications
To determine case plans for individual offenders	• Conduct individualized assessment of each offender • Assess risk of recidivism • Channel offenders to programs and/or levels of supervision that best meet their needs and control risks • Ensure offenders are receiving equitable and consistent treatment compared to others with similar risks and needs • Match identified needs with available resources • Ensure that certain types of problems are considered for all cases • Provide data for future monitoring of the case • Identify offenders for whom further in-depth assessments are needed (Altschuler & Armstrong, 1994; Guarino-Ghezzi & Byrne, 1989; Krisberg et al., 1994; NCCD, 1997; Wiebush et al., 1995)
To allocate resources	• Direct most intensive interventions to the most serious, violent, and chronic offenders

appropriately and implement effective supervision policies	• Set priorities for case plans • Organize staff and other agency resources • Determine workloads (Clear & Gallagher, 1983; Howell, 1995; Krisberg et al., 1994; NCCD, 1997; Wiebush et al., 1995)
To provide justification and accountability for case decisions	• Reassessment and evaluation of effectiveness of case plans and program strategies • Provide equal, nondiscriminatory treatment (Krisberg et al., 1994; NCCD, 1997; Wiebush et al., 1995)
To enhance other parts of the justice system	• Develop formalized procedures such as sentencing guidelines • Provide recommendations to the court (e.g., through presentence reports) (NCCD, 1997; Wiebush et al., 1995)
To gather program data and evaluate programs	• Collect uniform statistical data on results of assessment and provision of services • Use data for planning, monitoring, and evaluation of programs (Krisberg et al., 1994; NCCD, 1997)
To conduct research on programs and offenders	• Test hypotheses about programs and offenders (Gottfredson, 1987)

As summarized in the first section of this paper, adult probation agencies in 40 states use a formal classification system for adult offenders on probation (American Correctional Association, 1998). There are several important concepts in developing assessment and classification systems. These are defined briefly below to ensure a common understanding of the following discussion.

Risk assessment   The process of using an empirically based, standardized, objective instrument to evaluate an offender's background and current situation and estimate the likelihood that the offender will continue to be involved in criminal behavior. In community corrections, the results of risk assessment may be used to specify the level or intensity of supervision needed (Clear & Gallagher, 1983; Wiebush et al., 1995).

Prediction   A determination of behavior that can be expected in the future based on past behavior. Behaviors that occur less frequently, such as violence, are more difficult to predict, because there are fewer data upon which to determine a statistical probability that the behavior will be repeated (Gottfredson, 1987; Limandri & Sheridan, 1995; NCCD, 1997).

Needs assessment A systematic process of identifying offender needs and problems, their severity, and whether they are chronic or crisis needs, and then using the information to determine the specific program interventions to be used for the offender (Krisberg, Neuenfeldt, Wiebush, & Rodriguez, 1994; Peters, 1988; Wiebush et al., 1995).

Case classification The arrangement or grouping of persons according to a system, principles, or rules. Persons within a class are similar to one another but different from members of other groups. Assignment of individuals to predetermined groups (Gottfredson, 1987).

Override   The process of overruling or changing classifications when factors are present that outweigh the category indicated by usual risk and needs assessment instruments. Mandatory overrides provide for automatic changes in classification when certain characteristics are present. Discretionary overrides allow staff to make exceptions in classification when they detect circumstances that are not captured by the risk or needs assessment instruments (Krisberg et al., 1994; Wiebush et al., 1995).

Case management The system by which an organization applies resources to meet client goals. Case management decisions affect allocation of resources, levels of service delivery and budgetary practices (Burrell, 1998; Fulton, Stone & Gendreau, 1994).

Assessment Instruments. Assessment instruments are standardized tools comprised of a limited set of factors that are most relevant to the type of decision being made (e.g., treatment, incapacitation, supervision). For effective case classification, these instruments should be administered to all cases, and the results should be used to classify offenders according to preset criteria (Howell, 1995; NCCD, 1997; Wiebush et al., 1995).

Effective classification requires prediction through which knowledge of past events is used to form expectations of future behavior. As Gottfredson (1987, p. 6) states, "We must live forward but seek to understand backward." Prediction is really a summary of the past to guide future decisions, assuming there will be a degree of consistency over time (Gottfredson, 1987). Therefore, assessments use demographic, criminal, and behavioral characteristics to "sort" offend%rs according to their anticipated level of misconduct (Wright, 1988).

Actuarial and clinical assessments may be used to classify offenders. Clinical methods depend on the experience and more subjective judgments of the individual assessor. Actuarial methods rely on probabilities to discriminate among potential rates of future behaviors or events, similar to the types of calculations used to determine insurance premiums. Predictions are based on objective, standardized and empirical risk measures, including historical data on offender characteristics and outcomes (Boone & Fulton, 1995; Clear & Gallagher, 1983; NCCD, 1997). Prediction is an important concept in assessment and classification. Prediction, in this instance, is related to the notion of probability which implies an event is likely, but not certain, to occur. Probability is determined by statistical analysis of comparable cases with the same characteristics. In other words, an offender's future behavior is forecast based on the known outcomes of a similar group of offenders. Assessment instruments are effective in predicting that most offenders within a certain classification group will act in anticipated ways (e.g., recidivate, successfully complete treatment). However, they will not always accurately predict an individual offender's behavior (Clear & Gallagher, 1983). Nevertheless, they provide an effective tool for classifying and managing caseloads of offenders.

Risk assessment instruments estimate the likelihood that an offender will commit another offense within a follow-up period, and they are based on the statistical relationship between offender characteristics and recidivism (Wiebush et al., 1995). Risk assessment instruments are commonly used to determine supervision levels for offenders on probation. Historical data on offender traits and outcomes are used to establish which factors are most closely linked with unfavorable case outcomes (NCCD, 1997). The following list contains risk/need factors that are highly correlated with recidivism *(Promoting Public Safety. . ., n.d.)*:

- antisocial/procriminal attitudes, values, beliefs, and cognitive-emotional states
- procriminal associates and isolation from anticriminal others
- temperament and personality factors conducive to criminal activity including:
  - psychopathy

- weak socialization
- impulsivity
- restless/aggressive energy
- egocentricism
- below average verbal intelligence
- a taste for risk
- weak problem-solving/self-regulation skills
- a history of antisocial behavior
- family factors that include criminality and a variety of psychological problems in the family of origin including:
  - low levels of affection, caring and cohesiveness
  - poor parental supervision and discipline practices
  - neglect and abuse
- low levels of personal educational, vocational or financial achievement.

Historical factors are considered static, as they are fixed in time and cannot be changed (Boone & Fulton, 1995). For example, age at first offense, and previous offenses committed cannot be changed. Other factors, however, may be amenable to change with appropriate interventions (Boone & Fulton, 1995). Substance abuse, family stability, criminal associates, education level, and attitudes, values, and beliefs may be altered with appropriate interventions.

Although risk assessment instruments are usually reliable for predicting general rates of recidivism among groups of offenders, they are not as effective in estimating recidivism for specific types of crime, especially violent crimes. The incidence of violent crimes is relatively low, and it is difficult to statistically isolate factors that will differentiate accurately between offenders who will and will not commit violent offenses (Wiebush et al., 1995).

Needs assessment instruments often are administered with risk instruments, and they are used to identify serious offender problems. The results, then, are used to match offenders with appropriate programs. These instruments basically provide a description of a offenders' functioning. Need items usually are factors or characteristics that can be changed with intervention. The instruments generally are developed through a consensus process rather than through research (Howell, 1995; Wiebush et al., 1995).

Items most frequently addressed in needs assessment instruments include (Altschuler & Armstrong, 1994; Howell, 1995; Wiebush et al., 1995):

- substance abuse
- family functioning and relationships
- emotional stability
- employment/school attendance
- associates
- health/hygiene
- cognitive/intellectual ability or achievement
- learning disability

For whichever items are selected for a needs assessment instrument, it is vital that there be clear definitions and scoring criteria to achieve consistency in assessments (Howell, 1995; Wiebush et al., 1995).

A significant amount of research on assessment instruments has been undertaken, and several good instruments have been developed for adult probation populations. Existing assessment instruments can be adopted for specific jurisdictions or programs. However, risk assessment instruments should be validated at a local level. To do this, a risk assessment instrument is administered to a sample population, and recidivism rates of the population are tracked. If necessary, the points or weights assigned to certain levels may be changed to more accurately reflect the characteristics correlated with recidivism. Additional items also may be added to the tool if they are found to occur with substantial frequency among the sample population (NCCD, 1997).

Examples of Assessment Instruments
Level of Service Inventory – Revised (LSI-R)
The Correctional Program Assessment Inventory (CPAI)
NIC's Risk Classification System (Wisconsin Model)
Community Risk/Needs Management Scale

Specialized assessment instruments may be needed for special populations of offenders to assess their specific risks and needs. Instruments for alcohol and other drug use, domestic violence, sex offenders, and other offense-based assessment are available.

A list of some available offenders assessment instruments is included in Appendix 2. This does not represent an exhaustive list of such instruments nor an endorsement of any that are included in the list.

Case Classification. Case classification and management are both the purpose for and outcomes of client assessment procedures. Classification and management are very similar concepts that often overlap in practice. However, for clarity, they will be discussed as separate components in this paper. All policies should be written and included with other agency policies.

The process of classification involves grouping offenders with similar characteristics, usually determined by their score on assessment instruments (Clear & Gallagher, 1983). As apparent in the previous section, the basis of classification may include risk of recidivism and/or the offender's service needs.

Case classification, based on structured assessment processes, promotes rational, consistent, and equitable methods of supervising and providing services for offenders (Peters, 1988). Depending on the type of correctional program, offenders are assigned levels and types of community supervision and provided with specific services based on their classification.

There are several tasks that should be undertaken and decisions that must be made to develop an effective classification policy. These include the following:
- Set clear criteria for client eligibility or placement in various programs or levels of intervention. Determine the number of levels of supervision, and establish standards for supervision or security that differ substantially for each level. In general, those at the highest risk level should receive the most intensive services (NCCD, 1997; Peters, 1988; Wiebush et al., 1995);
- Determine which assessment instrument (e.g., risk, needs, placement) will be given precedence in determining an offender's classification, or develop a system for integrating the results of two types of assessments. Some jurisdictions or programs use a matrix system that takes both risks and needs into consideration (Peters, 1988);
- Select cutoff scores for assessment instruments that will result in appropriate workload levels for staff, least restrictive program placement for offenders, and protection of the public (Clear & Gallagher, 1983; Parent et al., 1994);

- Decide how frequently cases will be reassessed and reclassified, if appropriate. At reassessment and classification, the offender's adjustment should be recognized rather than a strict reliance on risk factors (Peters, 1988; Torbet, 1986; Wiebush et al., 1995);
- Decide when, where, and how assessment and classification will be completed and who will take responsibility for the process (Peters, 1988);
- Establish a method whereby staff may override an offender's assessment score if a different level of supervision, security, or programming is deemed necessary. Overrides may be mandatory (i.e., if a certain conditions exists, they must be placed at a different level regardless of the overall score) or discretionary (i.e., staff may consider factors that are not captured in the risk or need assessment instruments). There also should be a limit on the number of overrides in the classification system. Some suggest no more than 15 percent should result from overrides (Krisberg et al., 1994; Wiebush et al., 1995).

Torbet (1986, p. 2) lists five factors that are essential for successful implementation of a classification system. These are:
1. Scoring should be simple;
2. The rationale must be readily apparent and accepted by staff as well as administrators;
3. Staff should be allowed to make subjective judgments that override classification decisions;
4. Periodic reassessments should reflect changes in the client's problem, needs and/or risks;
5. Classification should be incorporated into the agency's record keeping system for monitoring, evaluation and planning purposes.

There are many potential benefits from a program of client assessment, classification, and management. The lists below describe benefits that may accrue to offenders, staff, and the program, agency or jurisdiction from implementation of a classification system. In some cases, an item might benefit more than one area, but each is listed only once.
Benefits to offenders include (Fulton, Stone, & Gendreau, 1994; Howell, 1995; Wiebush et al., 1995):
- consistent and equitable treatment of offenders,
- more accurate assessments, and
- it promotes serving offenders in the least restrictive environment

Benefits to staff include (Fulton, Stone, & Gendreau, 1994; Howell, 1995; NCCD, 1997; Wiebush et al., 1995):
- ensuring the same factors are considered in all cases
- promoting consistency in the assessment process

- increasing validity of assessment process because instruments are empirically based
- instruments are easy to complete
- saving time and paperwork
- the decision making process is expedited
- the rationale for decisions is explicit
- providing support for professional judgments
- clear policies and procedures for handling cases
- providing a degree of legal protection in decisions on controversial cases

Benefits to the program, agency, or jurisdiction include (Fulton, Stone, & Gendreau, 1994: Howell, 1995; Wiebush et al., 1995):

- Increased public safety
- More efficient use of resources
- Useful for program evaluation
- Helps control populations in detention and correctional institutions
- Defends budgeting decisions
- Facilitates agency or program accreditation
- Facilitates agency audits

Although there are many benefits, decision makers also need to consider other possible consequences of an assessment, classification and management system. For example, it may be possible for staff to rely too heavily on the quantitative components of the classification process, neglecting the case planning and case management functions that are more difficult (Klein, 1989). Similarly, Torbet (1986) cautions that using a case assessment, classification, and management system to set caseload contact standards may lead to *minimum* standards becoming the norm, resulting in the provision of less effective services. Another concern is that using statistical prediction methods will inevitably result in some errors in classification. Professional judgments are still a very important part of the process. Values and ethics remain vital to service provision (Gottfredson, 1987).

Other Assessments by Probation

In the context of community and restorative justice, the issue of assessment must go beyond the assessment of offenders. Probation professionals may need to become proficient in assessing both the community and victims. A discussion of community partnerships later in

this paper will briefly address community assessment. In the remainder of this segment, issues surrounding victim assessment will be summarized.

Often, probation professionals who are responsible for conducting presentence investigations of offenders also are charged with collecting victim impact information. This can be an important part of repairing the harm experienced by victims. Godwin & Seymour (1999) list important practices for victim impact statements, including:

- providing all victims with the opportunity to submit or update victim impact information;
- making available different methods for victims to provide impact information, such as written statements, audio or video tapes, telephone statements, and electronic mail;
- providing culturally sensitive and age-specific opportunities for victims to make their statements, as well as ways for non-English speaking victims to take part in the process;
- incorporating victim impact information in the agency's management information system, but ensuring confidentiality of victim contact information; and
- providing training to all parts of the criminal justice system on how victim impact information should be collected and used appropriately.

The types of information that should be collected through victim impact statements include (Godwin & Seymour, 1999):

- the emotional impact of the crime on the victim,
- social and family relationships affected by the offense;
- the victim's concerns for safety and security;
- physical injuries resulting from the crime; and
- the victim's financial status and the costs associated with the crime.

Victims may need help from an advocate in completing the victim impact statement, and probation professionals should provide or help victims gain access to such assistance. A common problem with gathering victim impact information is not being able to locate the victim. However, agencies should have policies and procedures in place that require staff to work diligently to locate victims and obtain their impact information. This may necessitate contacting outside sources such as the Postal Service, driver's license bureau, voter registration agency, Social Security Administration, and utility companies (Godwin & Seymour, 1999). With Internet access, it is fairly easy to search for individuals even though one may have a relatively small amount of information to begin with.

In some cases even more extensive victim assessment may be important to victim safety and appropriate supervision of the offender. This is especially true in cases of domestic violence and sexual abuse where victims and offenders may have past relationships and/or ongoing contact. It can be very valuable to have input from the victim about his or her assessment of the offense, the offender, and his or her own needs. Even though victims should not be compelled to participate in assessment processes, constructively soliciting their input can contribute markedly to the effective management of the offender as well as the victim's safety.

Presser and Lowenkamp (1999) also discuss another aspect of assessment that is particularly pertinent with restorative justice services that include victims, such as victim-offender mediation. They contend that such programs should require a unique kind of screening process that evaluates whether or not the offender will cause the victim emotional trauma. Presently, in many programs, the criteria used to select offenders for participation in restorative justice encounters with victims are not victim oriented. The authors feel a victim-centered offender screening tool should be used to protect victims. They assert that an offender screening tool should assess the following areas, among others:
- denial or acceptance of blame
- moral maturity
- psychopathy
- honesty
- motivation
- empathy
- responsivity

Offenders who are likely to be unresponsive because of social, cognitive, and/or psychological traits probably should be screened out of direct contact with victims to prevent further victimization.

Program Examples
The Georgia Department of Pardons and Paroles (Atlanta, GA) and the Deschutes County, Oregon Community Justice Agency have procedures and instruments for assessing victim satisfaction.

With a restorative justice framework, an important issue is meeting the needs of victims. It can be helpful in determining whether or not a program is meeting this goal to assess victims' satisfaction with the services they are receiving and their opportunities for involvement in the probation process.

Finally, one other type of assessment that probation professionals may need to undertake is community assessment. There are a variety of methods through which this may be accomplished. Informal assessment occurs at every contact with the community, as people drink coffee together, or meet each other in public places. Probation officers can be attuned to the needs expressed in these information ways, as well as their own observations of community conditions. More formal assessments also may be needed. These can include focus groups, individual interviews, and questionnaires. Focus groups bring together a small group of people to have a structured discussion around particular issues. This information is carefully recorded and reviewed for major themes. Individual interviews may be structured or unstructured. Usually, they involve contacting a sample of community representatives who may be selected randomly or purposively for their particular knowledge and interest in the community. Interviews allow for dialogue between the probation officer and community members through which a variety of issues can be explored. Questionnaires can be used with larger groups of community members to collect data on various issues. Questionnaires usually lead to statistical findings, such as ratings of the most important issues confronting the respondents. However, they do not allow the assessor to probe for explanations and underlying issues that may provide a greater understanding of problems.

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Suggested Reading

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Godwin, T., & Seymour, A. (1999). *Promising victim-related practices and strategies in probation and parole.* Washington, DC: Office for Victims of Crime, U. S. Department of Justice.

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Strategy #2: Supervise Probationers in the Neighborhood, Not the Office

The "What Works" literature underscores the characteristics that make programs effective in reducing recidivism and thus promoting public safety. The first principle is that intensive services that are behavioral in nature should be provided to higher risk offenders. As discussed above, the greatest effort should be focused on the offenders who are most likely to continue committing crimes. While probationers who present lesser risk cannot be ignored, services should be scaled to increase as the offender's level of risk increases.

The Reinventing Probation Council (2000b), stresses the importance of supervising offenders where they live, work, and engage in recreational and other activities. Knowing where the offender lives, his or her family, and the environment in which they function are critical to effective supervision. It is also important to the community for probation to be highly visible in a positive way.

Offender-based classification systems that help to target high-risk offenders for supervision should be augmented by place-based classifications that assess the specific crime problems that compromise community safety and the quality of life of its residents. New technology is becoming available that can help communities map their crime problems. These Geographic Information Systems (GIS) connect information stored in computer databases to points on a map. The information can then be displayed on a map to reveal trends or patterns that might otherwise be missed (Greenman, 2000). The National Institute of Justice provides some assistance to communities in developing crime mapping and analysis.

Effective community-based supervision must be active, engaged, and community-centered. Working in the neighborhoods where offenders live allows probation professionals to know the local people and institutions and use them appropriately to help offenders connect with prosocial peers, mentors, and others (Reinventing Probation Council, 2000b). Further, "community-centered supervision activities call for the development of supervision strategies that carefully monitor in concert with others the whereabouts and behavior of offenders" (Reinventing Probation Council, 2000b, p. 21).

This implies a two-pronged approach to supervision:
- working with individual probationers to supervise them in such a way as to promote public safety, and
- working with the neighborhood to build social controls and resources and to solve local problems.

In this section, the discussion will focus on the first of these, effective offender supervision strategies within the community, and developing neighborhood partnerships for problem-solving and resource building will be addressed further in a later section.

Case Planning and Management

Probation supervision may be limited to law enforcement functions: surveillance, monitoring compliance, and imposing sanctions for noncompliance. However, a broader view incorporates case management/planning as a process for achieving a wider range of goals for probation supervision: public safety, accountability, competency development, rehabilitation, punishment, deterrence, restoration of the harm to the individual victim and to the community as victim, and/or other goals that may be individualized by jurisdiction. There are some fundamental principles that form the foundation of successful case management:

- Case management is assertive and pro-active. It involves vigorously delivering services to the probationer in the community rather than passively offering services in an office location. It seeks to identify issues and address them, rather than waiting to react to crises (Healey, 1999).
- Case management includes weighing the risk the offenders pose, the needs they exhibit, and the strengths they can access to design and implement a plan to achieve the goals of probation supervision. Inherent in this process is the effective use of assessment and classification techniques and instruments and the acquisition of needed services (Carey, Goff, Hinzman, Neff, Owens, and Albert, 2000).
- Case management is community focused in that the goals and objectives of the probationer's supervision are viewed through the lens of community, both the community as a whole and the offender's role in the community. This includes involving the community in the case management, setting supervision goals that offer benefit to the community, accessing resources in the community, inviting the community's assistance in achieving the offender's supervision goals, and, ultimately, restoring the probationer to status as a successful community member.
- Case management is diverse in that it matches the specific needs of the individual probationer and flexible in that it can be altered to accommodate newly acquired information from or about a probationer. Case management is not a static but a dynamic process that evolves over the term of a probationer's supervision (Carey, et al, 2000).

Case management begins at the offender's initial point of contact with probation services and continues through exit from the system. In a strong case management system, whenever an officer has authority over or contact with an offender, either conducting pre- or post-sentencing duties, case management tasks are in process. Initial efforts focus on assessment, orientation, providing information, and evaluating for crisis intervention. Subsequent efforts focus on matching resources to needs, monitoring compliance, and implementing a system of sanctions and rewards to move the client toward successful conclusion of probation supervision and to a role of contributor to society.

Whether conducting pre- or post-adjudication supervision, the case manager determines the type and level of contact with the offender that will be needed to achieve supervision goals. Depending on the assessment of risk, needs, and strengths, the offender may be assigned to a specialized caseload and/or to a particular level of supervision that delineates the frequency of reporting. Requirements for reporting vary from minimal (perhaps not even being required to perform face-to-face reporting) to intensive, which might include day reporting.

A specific tool for the implementation of case management is the individualized case plan. To be functional and practical, case plans should specify in detail and in writing the goals and objectives for the probationer's supervision and should provide both methods and a timetable for supervision activities. The plan should be meaningful to both the probation officer and the probationer, and it must be administratively useful and measurable so its effectiveness in achieving the desired outcomes can be evaluated (Carey, et al, 2000).

Both sanctions and incentives are useful tools in assisting the probationer to comply with the supervision plan, and in order to increase their utility, the probation officer needs to consider the following factors for each. Both sanctions and incentives should be graduated, increasing in intensity with each application. Both should be delivered as soon as possible after the precipitating event, and the imposition of each should occur with a certainty the offender can readily rely upon. Psychological theory suggests that in order to most effectively change behavior, incentives should be delivered in a ratio of four to one sanction (Andrews et al., 1990).

In providing case management services, the probation officer serves as resource broker, and as such must be familiar with resources available in the community. However, the pro-active stance of case management places the probation officer in the position of not just accessing community resources but working with the community to develop resources. The probation officer and agency are also responsible to the community for maintaining a quality of supervision and intervention with offenders that has the greatest likelihood of meeting community needs.

The probation officer may also serve as an advocate for the offender. This advocacy might include testifying or making recommendations in court on the client's behalf, negotiating pro bono services for clients, or securing priority placements at programs with waiting lists. It could also include mediating difficult situations for the offender (Healy, 1999).

A case management model of supervising offenders presumes the availability of a full array of services for high-risk/high-need offenders who need them, adequate intermediate intervention strategies for low-risk/low-need offenders, and a reliable system for determining risk and need of each offender. In that way resources normally provided to all offenders can be matched to those who need them. To better apportion and distribute the available resources, probation agencies have begun to look at systems other than one-on-one, face-to-face reporting for service delivery. Group supervision offers some alternatives for both "highs" and "lows" receiving probation services. As opposed to setting standards for number of contacts with the probationer (for example, once per week or once per month), probationers can be seen in groups for services ranging from pre-employment skills classes to intensive cognitive-restructuring.

Anoka County, MN Community Corrections implemented a group reporting system to maintain necessary contact with low risk offenders. Each offender selects one of 13 time slots to report and up to 85 probationers are assigned in each slot. Several days prior to each reporting time, a roster of offenders scheduled to report in a particular time slot is generated by computer. At the reporting time, offenders are checked in and can indicate if they wish to request an individual meeting with a probation officer. Three staff members are usually available for the few offenders who request or need individual contact and to conduct drug testing. The group then receives a 20- to 30-minute educational presentation either by a speaker or a video tape. Approximately 2,500 offenders are assigned to this group reporting program (Soma, 1994).

Program Examples:
Anoka County Community Corrections
Sixth Judicial District Correctional Services Department
Dakota County Community Corrections
Georgia State Board of Pardons and Paroles
"Operation Night Light" in Boston
"Operation Spot Light" in Maryland

Toch (1995) describes case management as the hub of a service-delivery wheel. The spokes in the wheel represent the resources supplied to keep the offender functioning at a reasonable level, and missing spokes represent services needed by the offender but not provided. Where

services are needed by offenders but not provided, spokes would be missing, and we can get oddly shaped wheels whose capacity to rotate would be correspondingly diminished.

Cognitive/Behavioral Programming

Cognitive therapy focuses on the ways people think and the content of their thoughts. "Cog probation," coined by Mark Carey (1997), applies the cognitive therapy principles to interventions with offenders to achieve the goals of reduced recidivism, offender rehabilitation, and public safety. Cognitive therapy fundamentals for working with offenders include developing and/or enhancing skills in social adaptation including the following (Lester and Van Voorhis, 2000, p.179):

- self-control,
- an ability to take the perspective of others (empathy),
- problem solving,
- formulating short-term and long-term plans,
- avoiding high-risk situations,
- anticipating the consequences of one's behavior,
- decision making,
- coping, and
- developing mature thinking strategies.

Offenders often have deficits in one or more of these skills and as a result do not respond in a pro-social manner, even if facing punishment. In some cases these deficits may be manifested as "thinking errors" as identified by Yochelson and Samenow (1976) and Samenow (1984, 1989) and summarized by Lester and Van Voorhis (2000 p 173-174) as follows:

- They blame others for their criminal behavior, maintaining, for example, that they "couldn't help it," or that "someone else made them do it."
- They develop an "I can't" attitude toward their own responsibilities.
- They often fail to understand the concept of injury to others.
- They fail to empathize or put themselves in the place of another person, particularly their victims.

· They fail to put forward enough effort to accomplish necessary goals. Sometimes, they seem not to know how much effort is enough.

· They refuse to accept responsibility.

· They assume an attitude of ownership or entitlement to the property of others, treating others' property as if it already belonged to them.

· They do not appear to understand what constitutes trustworthy behavior.

· They often expect others to "fall into line" to accommodate their own wishes.

· They make decisions irresponsibly by not gathering enough facts, making assumptions, and blaming others.

· Pride is more important than acknowledging their mistakes, or allowing others to get a point across.

· They demonstrate a flawed definition of success and the time it takes to succeed; believing, for example, that they should be a success overnight.

· Many offenders cannot seem to accept criticism.

· They deny their own fear and fail to recognize that fear can be constructive.

· They use anger to control others and fail to acknowledge their anger in appropriate ways.

· They overzealously attempt to obtain power, demonstrating "power thrusts" in inappropriate ways.

While cognitive therapy should be delivered by trained therapists, it is possible and desirable to train community corrections professionals for delivery of cognitive instruction in an educational framework to appropriate offenders. The curricula is delivered to groups through the use of presentations, exercises, group discussion, and work assignments. If therapeutic issues are identified, then referral to a counselor is appropriate. Cognitive instruction delivered by probation personnel does not seek to identify and resolve therapeutic issues, but to provide education (Carey, 1997).

Andrews, et al, (1989, as cited by Carey, 1997) identified over 500 recent and validated studies that show cognitive/behavioral interventions reduce recidivism by an average of 15%. Carey (1997) also notes that when offenders are properly targeted and matched to the appropriate cognitive and/or behavioral program, recidivism is reduced by an average of 25% to 50%, as compared to control groups. However, it is important to not view cognitive/behavioral intervention as the fits-all answer for every offender. Surveillance, monitoring, mental and chemical health referrals, and punishment are also necessary tools,

and the optimum approach is to match the intervention to the needs of the individual offender. Offenders who are most likely to benefit from probation officer-provided, cognitive/behavioral intervention are those who present moderate to high risk of recidivism. Low-risk offenders are not considered appropriate as they are not likely to return to court regardless of what intervention is imposed, and intervention may actually increase the likelihood of re-offending. It is also prudent to reserve agency resources for those most likely to receive benefit from the services. Offenders with significant cognitive impairment are also inappropriate for cognitive intervention programs (Carey, 1997). In determining an offender's suitability for cognitive intervention, Carey (1997 p. 31) suggests asking the following questions:

· Which offenders are the highest risk to reoffend?

· What criminogenic factors are present in the offender?

· What kind of programming is the offender most appropriate for?

· What type of learning style would produce the best results?

· What type of facilitator or counselor would work best for this offender?

· What other factors might interfere with learning (such as head injury, depression, learning disability, etc.)?

Cognitive approaches can be generally described as one of the following (Carey, 1997):

- *Cognitive restructuring* is used for the offender with the most severe anti-social attitudes and behaviors. The intervention assists the offender in examining attitudes, beliefs, and thoughts that are distorted, irrational, or inappropriate. The goal is to change the content of the offender's reasoning.

· *Cognitive skill development* addresses the offender's thought processes, identifies areas for skill development, such as anger management, problem solving, assertiveness, or conflict resolution, and aids them in developing the needed skills. The goal is to change the structure of the offender's reasoning.

· *Life skill enhancement* is useful for the offender who has limited skills in carrying out essential life tasks, such as securing employment, managing money, maintaining appropriate housing, or establishing appropriate personal relationships. The goal is to increase competencies which will lead to success in society.

Because of the correlation between cognition and behavior, interventions designed to modify behavior are an integral part of a cognitive programming construct and can be used with any of the above three levels. The use of sanctions and incentives within each level can support

the tasks being required of the offenders, such as the preparation of journals, participating in role plays, and participating in group discussions (Carey, 1997).

Moral education is also closely correlated with cognitive skills. As humans develop, there is a progression from concrete reasoning where issues are viewed from a single perspective with yes or no answers to the ability to conduct abstract reasoning and see issues from multiple perspectives. Addressing offenders' moral development can be accomplished in conjunction with or separate from cognitive interventions. It is useful to look upon the development of a belief system about what is "right" as a task of cognitive development and to address it as a reasoning skill that can be developed or enhanced. Thus, offenders can be assessed to determine the stage of their moral development and can be provided moral education programs in cognitive restructuring, cognitive skills, and life skills groups to assist them in advancing to a higher level of moral reasoning (Lester and Van Voorhis, 2000).

Prochaska, Norcross, and DiClemente (1994) provide information about the stages individuals pass through during the process of changing that can be helpful both to assess the level of cognitive intervention that should be initiated and to track an offender's progress toward completing the needed behavior change. They identify the stages of change as pre-contemplation, contemplation, preparation, action, maintenance, and termination, and they recognize relapse as an expected and critical part of the change process. Understanding the change process and the tactics employed to resist change can assist the probation officer in developing realistic expectations and goals for each offender.

An agency wishing to implement cognitive curricula, particularly with existing staff, should be prepared to (Carey, 1997):

Program Examples:

- provide appropriate staff training,

- address agency standards for personal and collateral contacts to facilitate "group " contacts,

- assess how new duties required of officers will be evaluated,

- address job classification and union issues that may arise,

- provide staff with a source of consultation services to discuss difficult situations they are facing in their groups,

- establish a system for quality control, and

- support and encourage staff, recognizing that some staff may not be able to conduct groups.

> Adult and Adolescent Day Alternative Services Program
> Rochester, MN
>
> Dakota County Community Corrections (Minnesota)
>
> State Judicial Department
> Denver, CO
>
> Lincoln County Community Corrections
> Newport, OR
>
> Sixth Judicial District Correctional Services Department
> Cedar Rapids, IA

Specialized/Intensive Supervision Caseloads

In recent years, there has been a proliferation of practices that provide special or intensive supervision for particular subsets of offenders. These specialized caseloads are usually designated in one of two ways:
- by the characteristics of the offenders (e.g., sex offenders, domestic violence offenders, mentally ill or developmentally disabled offenders, substance abusers, gang members), or
- by the type of supervision given, presumably to a wider variety of offenders who have high risk characteristics (e.g., intensive supervision).

As shown in the first part of this paper, 30 states report having some type of specialized caseloads for adult probation, and 46 states report having intensive supervision caseloads. Statistics provided in Part 1 also indicate that about two-thirds of adult probationers participated in some type of specialized supervision program. The most frequent types of special services included alcohol and drug treatment (37%) and drug testing (32%). Twelve percent or less of probationers also participated in counseling (12%), other treatment

programs (11%), intensive supervision (10%), education (7%), electronic monitoring (4%), and other (0.4%) (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1998).

The concept of specialized supervision in probation is not an uncontested issue. Those who favor specialized caseloads argue that probation officers who work with one type of offender gain expertise regarding the types of problems presented by them and the kinds of supervision and treatment services they need. Caseload sizes usually are reduced in these specialized units, and therefore, probation officers have more time to provide intensive and individualized services the offenders need. On the other hand, those who maintain generalized caseloads are preferable often cite as drawbacks the higher cost of special caseloads and the difficulty in recruiting or training probation officers with sufficient expertise about the particular needs of the target offender group (Latessa, Parks, Allen & Carlson, 1979).

While specialized caseloads are feasible in urban areas where there are higher numbers of probationers, they often are not possible in rural areas. There may not be a sufficient number of offenders with specific problems or types of offenses to comprise a specialized caseload. Rural areas also present problems related to travel distances, and it may be most practical to assign officers cases geographically rather than based on other classifications.

Given the findings of the "What Works" research, it appears that effective probation practice should be scaled to match the assessed risks and needs of different offenders. Therefore, some type of specialized caseloads provided with more intensive supervision appear to be desirable. Whether these should be mixed groups of high risk offenders or specialized groups based on particular characteristics has not been fully researched. Much may depend on the resources available in a given agency and the number of offenders who might have certain characteristics.

The following discussion focuses on the use of intensive supervision caseloads and could be applied to other types of specialized caseloads (e.g., sex offender, domestic violence, substance abusing) as well. The fact that many offenders have more that one high risk characteristic (e.g., domestic violence offender and substance abuse or gang members with substance abuse issues) means that even if specialized caseloads are formed, probation professionals will need to be knowledgeable about a variety of offender problems and supervision methods.

There are two aspects of intensive supervision: surveillance and treatment. Research has shown that high levels of surveillance alone -- without effective treatment -- is not useful in reducing recidivism and, therefore, increasing public safety (Petersilia & Turner, 1993). Fulton, Stone, and Gendreau (1994) outline three recommendations for effective intensive supervision programs:

1. **Focus on the Provision of Intensive Services**. Research has demonstrated a positive correlation between participating in rehabilitative programs and the reduction of recidivism. Therefore, intensive supervision programs should focus more on offenders' participation in treatment programs than on punishment, surveillance, and incapacitation.

2. **Exercise a Balanced Approach**. This recommendation refers to the need to provide a full range of probation activities. The Balanced Approach (discussed in the previous section of this paper) placed equal emphasis on three goals:
   - accountability of offenders for the damages, injury or loss victims incurred because of their crime;
   - competency development to provide the offender with skills and knowledge needed to become a responsible and productive citizen; and
   - community protection to ensure public safety.

   To achieve this balanced approach, probation must ensure that offenders receive treatment services to enable them to become productive and responsible citizens, monitor their behavior to provide short-term offender control and public protection, and hold them accountable for their actions through mechanisms such as drug testing (with appropriate consequences for use), restitution to repay victims for their losses, and community service to compensate the community for their unlawful behavior.

3. **Develop Enhancement ISPs.** This principles suggests that intensive supervision programs should enhance or strengthen regular probation supervision and the appropriate offenders should be those at highest risk who are already on probation. The focus should be increased rehabilitative efforts rather than maximizing punishment while diverting offenders from prison.

Gendreau (Fulton, Stone, and Gendreau, 1994, pp. IV-6-IV-7) lists eight principles for effective intensive supervision programs. They are:
- The risk/need level of offenders is specified and needs that are predictive of recidivism are targeted for intervention.
- The program is highly structured with program content and contingencies under the programmers' control. This also means that negative peers are prevented from taking over

the program and that effective internal controls are established to detect antisocial activities (e.g., urinalysis for substance abusers).

- The responsibility of offenders to different styles and modes of service is taken into account. For example, offenders with a low conceptual level and sociopathy in behaviors will respond best to a highly structured program (e.g., a token economy). High anxiety offenders respond best to higher levels of interpersonal interaction. Offenders with psychiatric histories will function better in low-stress environments. Poorly motivated types may require more than the usual legal contingencies attached to the therapeutic program.
- The personal characteristics and relationship styles of the staff are matched with those of the offender. For example, highly impulsive or lower functioning probationers/parolees will function better with someone who is firm but fair and prefers to operate with a good deal of structure. Some personal characteristics that should be noted are: age, conceptual level, gender, life experiences, professional orientation and training level. Relationship styles that are important are: clarity; empathy; fairness and firmness without being confrontational; problem solving; and spontaneity. Attempts should be made to assign caseloads to probation/parole officers that take some of the above factors into account.

> **Program Examples**
>
> "Operation Night Light" in Boston
>
> Dodge/Fillmore/Olmstead Counties Community Corrections Department Rochester, MN
>
> Breaking the Cycle (funded through the Naitonal Institute of Justice) is a system-wide, coordinated program designed to reduce substance abuse and criminal activity of drug-involved offenders by combining drug treatment with criminal justice sanctions and incentives. Sites include:
> Birmingham, AL
> Jakcsonville, FL
> Tacoma, WA

- Positive reinforcers outnumber punishers by at least 4:1.
- The intervention period lasts 3-9 months. Some successful programs have been fairly brief in duration.
- Program staff receive at least 3-6 months' formal training in the theory and practice of the program.
- During the program there are ongoing assessments (e.g., questionnaires; behavioral observations of offenders) to detect changes in values and skills that are related to the desired outcome.

Intensive supervision programs should address the second strategy suggested by the Reinventing Probation Council (2000b): Supervise Probationers in the Neighborhood, Not the Office. It is important for probation officers to interact frequently with offenders as well as their families, neighbors, and associates where they live. The number of contacts made is not as important as the quality of those contacts. Fulton, Stone, and Gendreau (1994) list five strategies for involving the community in intensive supervision programs. These include:

- *recruiting volunteers* who can free up probation officers' time to work more directly with offenders;
- *using community sponsors or network teams* who are individuals who can assist the offender with living his or her live in a prosocial way. They may provide transportation, assist in emergencies, be an advocate for the offenders, help him or her occupy free time appropriately, and monitor special conditions.
- undertaking *public relations* efforts to better communicate with the community about the program;
- engaging in *neighborhood probation* which is focused on a particular geographic area, coordinating supervision with other resources in the area, and working in and with the community to enhance public safety and a stable community; and
- providing *victims' programming* through such methods as victim/offender mediation, community review boards, victims notification practices, and community service performed by offenders.

. . .[M]eaningful and effective neighborhood-based supervision must be conducted at times that are not confined to the traditional 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday, workday. To be effective, it must be delivered at nights, on weekends, and on holidays. . . .

In addition to nontraditional work hours, the Maricopa County Adult Probation Department has created a "virtual office" out of its South Port site. The adult probation officers share the building with juvenile probation officers. When in the field the officers are equipped with cell phones and laptop computers where they can plug into the office to receive e-mail, print documents or enter data. They work where their work is located, namely, in the community. In fact, without the traditional office setting, the officers must conduct their work in different community-based locations, seeking out offenders, local residents and others. This approach, if successful, will be expanded throughout the department.

The Juvenile Probation Department in Maricopa County under the Superior Court in Arizona implemented "Virtual Office Probation Officers" as well to increase the officers' productive time in the community and to rationally allocate the department's resources. These officers only spend one day a week in a traditional office setting. Their virtual office is a briefcase on wheels that carries their laptop computer, cellular phone, and other support materials. The department's Juvenile On-Line Tracking System has been transformed into field book application. The results of drug tests, restitution payments, compliance with other conditions of probation, safety alerts and scheduled court hearings are kept up to date and transmitted to the field book for use by the officer and/or by the court. The probation staff also work as teams to establish collegial groups within the community, allowing juvenile probation officers to develop relationships with businesses, schools, and community organizations within specific neighborhood areas. The project has increased meaningful interaction with juvenile offenders and their families and enhanced the quality of information provided to the court.

Source: Reinventing Probation Council. (2000b).
Transforming Probation Through Leadership:
The "Broken Windows" Model.
New York: Center for Civic Innovation.
Pages 21-22

For further information, contact:

Chief Probation Officer	Cheryln K. Townsend
Maricopa County Adult Probation Department	Chief Probation Officer
111 S. Third Ave., 3rd Floor	Maricopa County Juvenile Probation Department
Phoenix, AZ 85003	5332 N. 6th St.
(602) 506-7244	Phoenix, AZ 65012-140
	(602) 506-4210

Electronic Supervision Tools. Increasingly sophisticated technology is making the close surveillance of offenders in the community easier and more affordable. While it is impractical to have probation officers constantly watching offenders, with electronic supervision tools, heightened surveillance is possible at a fraction of the cost of human observation, thus, theoretically, freeing probation officers to attend more to the offender's rehabilitation needs while maintaining public safety.

There are several types of electronic supervision tools, and these are being enhanced at a rapid pace. Four basic types of electronic supervision tools presently are available:

- *Continuously signaling devices* use a transmitter attached to the offender (usually around the wrist or ankle) that emit a continuous radio signal. A receiver in the offender's home detects the signals from the transmitter and sends them over the telephone lines to a monitoring computer. The computer receives the signal when the offender is present in the home and records the loss of the signal when the offender leaves. These changes are compared to a predetermined schedule of when the offender is to be at home or out of the home. Alerts are sent to probation officers when the offender's actual presence at home differs from his or her approved schedule (Schmidt, 1991).

- *Programmed contact devices* can be set to call the offender at intervals to verify whether he or she is at a required location. The calls can be random or scheduled. There are several ways to verify that the offender is actually the person responding to the call. Some systems use voice verification that can match the voice of the person to a voice sample taken earlier. Other systems have the offender wear a small device on the arm that can be inserted into a verifier box connected to the telephone. Visual verification, through the use of camera technology also can be used to ensure that the offender is actually responding to the call. When the offender does not answer the call or his or her identify cannot be verified, the probation officer can be alerted (Schmidt, 1991).

- *Global Positioning Satellite* is a relatively new development. The offender wears a transmitter that communicates signals to a satellite and back to a computer monitor. This system has the capability of locating the individual at any place and recording his or her whereabouts. Zones can be designated where the offender is allowed to be and not allowed to be. If the system detects he or she is in a restricted area, an alert is generated. This type of technology may be especially useful for monitoring sex offenders and domestic violence offenders who are prohibited from going to certain locations in the community. It is presently the most expensive system because of the use of satellite time.

- Remote alcohol testing devices can be used with other monitoring systems or alone. They require the offender to blow into a device like a breathalyzer, and the results are transmitted

to a computer that records the amount of alcohol, if present. If the offender is prohibited from using alcohol and the equipment detects use, the probation officer can be notified.

These devices can be helpful for several purposes within probation. They can be used to enforce curfews or home confinement imposed as sanctions on offenders. They also may be used as a means of public protection or individual victim protection to alert the victim or the probation officer when an offender is approaching an area that may bring him or her in contact with possible victims. They also can be used to ensure that probationers are maintaining sobriety as ordered by the court.

Electronic supervision tools should be viewed as just that -- tools. They cannot take the place of other program components. As part of an intensive supervision program, they can assist with surveillance, but the program still must have other accountability and offender rehabilitation components to be effective.

Electronic supervision tools are not infallible. They can be tampered with by the offender, there can be interruptions in power or telephone service, or there can be equipment malfunctions for various reasons. Therefore, it is important not to oversell the use of technology either to the corrections field or to the public. Programs using electronic supervision tools are most effective if they have staff available to respond to alerts as quickly as possible after they occur. Staff should regularly

Program Examples
New Mexico Probation and Parole Division Albuquerque, NM
Michigan Department of Corrections Lansing, MI
Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services Richmond, VA
Tarrant County Community Supervision and Corrections Department Fort Worth, TX
Florida Department of Corrections Tallahassee, FL

check on reports from the monitoring computer and provide appropriate sanctions if offenders are not complying with curfews, home detention, or restrictions on where they may go.

Drug and Alcohol Testing. Drug and alcohol testing also are examples of technology that can be employed to assist probation officers in supervising offenders. Because of the high correlation between substance abuse and crime, helping offenders remain drug- and alcohol-

free can also help them in maintaining appropriate behavior. Drug and alcohol testing can be used as stand-alone conditions of probation, but for offenders with substance abuse problems, they should be used in conjunction with substance abuse treatment.

Alcohol can be detected through the use of breath analysis or saliva testing. Both methods are accurate and can indicate whether or not the offender has drunk alcohol recently. Alcohol stays in the body a very short time, so the most effective way of detecting alcohol use is to employ these devices while doing home visits or at other places in the community where offenders will not be expecting to be tested.

Several substances of abuse (marijuana, cocaine, PCP, amphetamine, methamphetamine, opiates, and others) can be tested through urinalysis. Urine testing is presently the most accurate and cost effective method of testing for drugs of abuse. However, several other, less invasive methods of testing are in development and may soon be used more readily. These include hair testing, sweat patches, and saliva testing.

Drug testing should be conducted randomly so offenders cannot learn to schedule their substance use to avoid detection. Strict chain of custody procedures must be in place, especially if offenders will receive potent sanctions for the use of alcohol and other drugs. Every drug test should be accompanied by a response -- incentives (e.g., praise, encouragement, rewards) for negative test results, and sanctions (e.g., reprimands, warnings, restrictions, and possibly revocation) for positive results. If the offender is participating in a substance abuse treatment program, it is crucial that probation officers and treatment providers work cooperatively to determine the best approaches to take if the offender continues to use psychoactive substances.

Program Examples
Division of Parole and Probation Baltimore, MD
Multnomah County Community Corrections Department Portland, OR

Other Technologies. Several useful technologies are available or in development that could prove to be very valuable for probation. Some of these include:
· tip/duress alarms,
· wireless, network computers,
· body armor,

· heat sensors for home visits (to know where people are in the home),
· hands free video cameras,
· language translation software, and
· palm sized metal detectors.

Day Reporting Centers. Clarke (1994, p. 6) defines day reporting centers as facilities "to which offenders are required. . .to report on a daily or other regular basis at specified times for a specified length of time to participate in activities such as counseling, treatment, social skill training, or employment training." As such, day reporting centers may be helpful adjuncts to intensive supervision programs because they provide supervision, rehabilitation programs, and sometimes are used as a sanction.

Day reporting centers are relatively new in the United States, having first started in 1986 in response to prison crowding. They also vary widely from one locale to another in their target populations, eligibility criteria, services offered, monitoring procedures, and termination policies. This diversity in programs has made research on the effectiveness of day reporting centers difficult. Day reporting may be used as a direct sentence imposed by the court or as in intensification of probation, when needed (Marciniak, 2000).

As with other intensive supervision strategies, day reporting may actually increase the likelihood that offenders will be found violating probation conditions or committing new offenses. The extent of supervision contact with offenders is so much greater than less intensive methods of supervision, that the probability of learning about violations or new offenses is increased.

For More Information on Day Reporting Centers, contact:
International Community Corrections Association P. O. Box 1987 La Crosse, WI 54602-1987 (608) 785-0200

Specialized Courts

During the past few years specialized courts have proliferated across the country. Juvenile or family courts have long been a mainstay of American jurisprudence. Although these courts initially were started to recognize the special rehabilitative needs of children and to separate them from the busier and more formal adult courts, in many places they have become just as overburdened as the criminal court system.

However, innovators have recently taken the idea of specialized courts a step further. Drug courts were one of the earlier developments, and therefore, are more fully evolved and have spread further than some others. In addition to drug courts, several other specialized courts have developed including:

- domestic violence courts,
- gun courts,
- reentry courts,
- gang courts,
- mental health courts,
- family courts, and
- re-entry courts.

While each of these courts has different offender populations and crime problems with which they are dealing, their general philosophy and purposes are similar. This discussion is based on literature on drug courts, but in most cases, the issues are similar.

Drug courts combine intensive supervision from a judge with mandatory sanctions and treatment to help offenders break the cycles of addiction and crime. They also emphasize collaboration among all parts of the justice system and treatment providers. The involvement of probation professionals in the drug courts across the country has been uneven, but the kind of oversight and treatment advocated by drug courts is consistent with intensive supervision and offender rehabilitation strategies.

The National Association of Drug Court Professionals (1997) has developed the following key components of drug courts. Most of these could be modified to fit specialized courts for other populations as well.

- Integrate treatment services with justice system case processing.
- Use a nonadversarial approach; both the prosecution and defense counsel should promote public safety while protecting participants' due process rights.
- Identify eligible participants early and promptly place them in the drug court program.

- Provide offenders with access to a continuum of alcohol, drug, and other related treatment and rehabilitation services.
- Monitor abstinence by frequent alcohol and other drug testing.
- A coordinated strategy is used to respond to participants' compliance.
- Ongoing judicial interaction with each drug court participant is essential.
- Achievement of program goals is measured, and program effectiveness is monitored and evaluated.
- Continuing interdisciplinary education promotes effective drug court planning, implementation, and operations.
- Partnerships among drug courts, public agencies, and community-based organizations generate local support and enhance drug court effectiveness.

Program Examples
Brooklyn Treatment Court New York, NY Miami/Dade County Drug Court Miami, FL Escambia County Adult Drug Court Pensacola, FL 32501 Mental Health Court Broward County, Florida 36th District Handgun Intervention Program Detroit, MI

Suggested Reading

- Restructuring Intensive Supervision Programs
- Managing Adult Sex Offenders
- Intervening in Family Violence
- American Probation and Parole Association's Drug Testing Guidelines and Practices for Adult Probation and Parole Agencies (NCJ # 129199)
- Drug Involved Adult Offenders

Strategy #3: Rationally Allocate Resources

The third strategy outlined by the Reinventing Probation Council (2000b) stresses the interdependence between the allocation of resources and the provision of meaningful,

neighborhood-centered supervision. This concept of supervision, coupled with sufficient staff and other resources, focuses attention on offenders who are most at risk of posing a public safety risk. Rationally allocating resources involves accurate knowledge of the offender and the rational assignment of field staff to community areas where those offenders present the greatest risk to public safety.

At least four types of resources must be considered:
- funding,
- personnel,
- job-related tools (e.g., computers, telephones, office space, vehicles),
- information, and
- other justice system resources.

Funding

The variety of funding sources for probation (i.e, state, local, offender fees) was presented in the first section of this paper. Probation is a field with limited financial resources. Adult probation agencies across the country provide services to about 60 percent of all adult offenders (with all offenders including those in jail and prisons, and on probation and parole) (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2000). However, probation receives only about one-tenth of state and local government funding that is allocated for corrections (Reinventing Probation Council, 2000b).

Expenditures for probation vary markedly from one jurisdiction to another. In 1998, the cost per day per offender ranged from $0.72 in South Dakota to $8.25 in Vermont, with the average cost per day being $2.35 for states providing probation only and $3.56 for states that have probation and parole services combined. Intensive supervision costs ranged from $2.35 per day in Rhode Island to $26.00 per day in New Jersey. The average cost of intensive probation ranged from $9.62 per day for probation-only states to $10.23 per day for states providing combined probation and parole services (Camp & Camp, 1999).

Community Corrections Acts have been passed in some states as a mechanism to encourage local governments to maintain offenders in the community, with funding incentives, rather than sending them to state prisons. Twenty-four states[1] had passed Community Corrections Acts

[1] States with Community Corrections Acts (Shilton & Scott, 1997) were Alabama, Arizona,

by 1997, and these had resulted in some promising local probation programs (Shilton & Scott, 1997).

Petersilia (1998b, p. 45) states, "Quality probation supervision costs money." In 1998, the cost of supervising offenders ranged from less than $265 annually in South Dakota for regular supervision cases to nearly $9,500 annually in New Jersey for intensive supervision cases (Camp & Camp, 1999). However, as Lipton (1996) points out, effective substance abuse treatment programs may cost between $12,000 and $14,000 per year. Petersilia (1998b, p. 45) maintains, "It is no wonder that recidivism rates are so high." Indeed, if probation is to be expected to do a credible job of supervising increasingly high risk offenders, sufficient funding must be provided.

Arizona has passed legislation that felony probation caseloads can not exceed 60 offenders per probations officer. With this law, they also allocated state funding to maintain that level of service (Petersilia, 1998a).
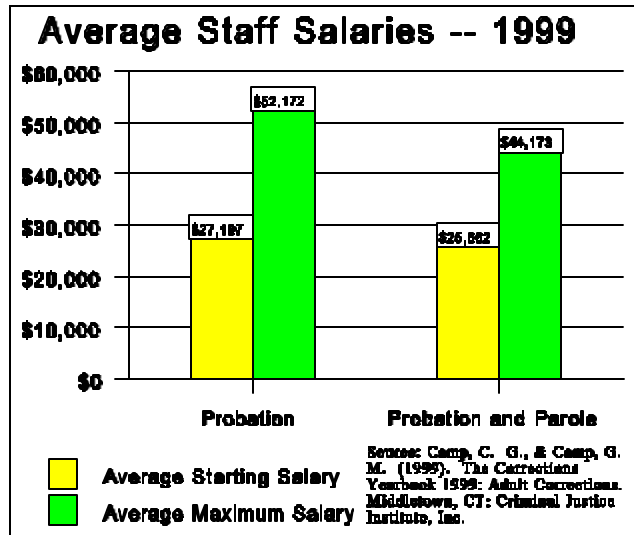
Figure 14
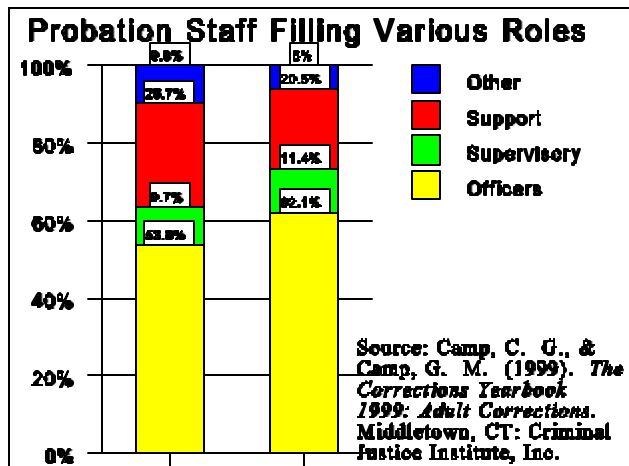
Personnel

On January 1, 1999 there were 19,914 adult probation staff working in the 17 states that provide probation services separately, and there were 23,536 probation and parole staff in the 32 states that combine probation and parole services (Oregon is not included in these totals). Figure 14 shows the percentage of these personnel who were officers, supervisory personnel, support staff, and those who filled other roles. Of these totals, 54 percent were probation/parole

California, Colorado, Florida, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and Wyoming.

Average Staff Salaries -- 1999

Source: Camp, C. G., & Camp, G. M. (1999). The Corrections Yearbook 1999: Adult Corrections. Middletown, CT: Criminal Justice Institute, Inc.

officers, 10 percent were supervisory staff, 21 percent were support staff, and 7 percent filled other roles (Camp & Camp, 1999).

In 1999, the entry level salaries for probation or probation and parole officers ranged from $17,964 in Kentucky to $40,533 in Massachusetts. Maximum salaries for the same time ranged from $30,305 in Mississippi to $85,000 in Alaska (Camp & Camp, 1999). Figure 15 shows the average beginning salaries and average maximum salaries for 46 states combined.

There also is considerable variation among states as to the minimum education requirements for probation officers. Forty-three states have minimum requirements, while the other seven vary by county or local jurisdictions. Of these 43 states, the following minimum education requirements are in place (American Correctional Association, 1998):

- High school -- 3 states
- High school plus experience -- 1 state
- BA degree -- 28 states
- BA plus experience -- 9 states
- BA plus a test -- 2 states

Mandatory training for adult probation officers also varies markedly from state to state. In some cases, there are differences between the number of hours required during the first year and those required after the first year of employment. During the first year, mandated training hours required range from 16 in Hawaii to 480 in Alabama for the 46 states that have requirements. Nineteen of these states require 40 hours of training. The median is 58 hours, and the mean hours of training required is 125. Training requirements after the first year of employment range from 12 hours per year in Alabama to 185 hours per year in Wisconsin. Thirty-one states require 40 hours, and the mean number of hours required is 38 (American Correctional Association, 1998).

Caseload per officer is another mechanism for looking at the issue of probation resources. According to Camp and Camp (1999) regular probation caseloads per officer ranged from

60 to 352, with an average of 124 in 17 states where probation services are provide separately. In 22 states where probation and parole services are provided by the same agency, regular supervision caseloads ranged from 51 to 154, with an average of 94. Average caseload sizes for intensive supervision was 25 in states where probation is provided separately and 30 in states where probation and parole are combined. As of February 1, 1998, 18 states used workload formulas for adult probation.

The American Probation and Parole Association has an Issue Paper on Caseload Standards that discusses some of the problems inherent in the question of establishing caseload standards. The entire Issue Paper can be found at www.appa-net.org. Key points are excerpted below.

> In the early days of the debate over the optimum caseload size, the number of 50 was suggested. . . . A caseload of 50 survived as the accepted wisdom until the 1967 report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice. In the *Corrections* report, a caseload size of 35 was put forth as the new "best" size.

> While organizations and national commissions were debating the wisdom of one or another caseload size, there was a good deal of research going on in probation and parole to empirically assess the effectiveness of various caseload sizes. Much of this research was conducted in California, and much of it was inconclusive. None of it definitively answered the question: "What is the ideal caseload size?"

> . . . .[P]robation and parole is a pluralistic, highly decentralized enterprise engaged in by hundreds of departments at the federal, provincial, state, c/unty and municipal level across North America. The diversity among these service providers is substantial, and thus it is very difficult to simply state, with any degree of confidence, much of anything which will apply uniformly to all (or even most) probation and parole agencies.

> This variation among agencies is the result of locally determined policies and procedures, which are driven by statutes, court decisions, resources and other factors unique to a particular jurisdiction. Nonetheless, there are commonalties in issues and concerns which link the agencies together. These form the basis for efforts such as these, to develop and issue standards which will be responsive to the needs of the field, while reflecting and accommodating the need for individualization by the agencies.

> . . . .[C]ases (probationers/parolees) will be treated differently in terms of the amount and type of supervision they will receive. This means that the caseload officer will be expected to give differing amounts of time and types of attention to different cases.

> In practice, this translates into different types of frequencies of personal contacts for the caseload officer. Generally speaking, the more serious or higher priority cases are assigned a greater level of supervision, meaning that the officer will be expected to have more frequent contact with that offender (and others

involved in the case). More frequent contact results in more time being spent on a higher priority case. The converse is also true, that lower priority cases demand less time of the caseload officer.

It thus becomes clear that in counting cases under this approach, it is necessary to factor in the priority of the case, as that will determine the amount of time the officer is required to spend. Cases cannot be counted as equal, because they are being assigned differing priorities, and are requiring differing amounts of caseload officer time.

Over the past decade, a revolution of sorts has occurred in probation and parole supervision. A significant proportion of the agencies (including most of the largest) have adopted classification and case management systems for their supervision operations.

. . . .[T]he workload model is based on differentiation among cases. It bases that on the amount of time required to supervise a particular case up to standards. Since cases are assigned to different levels of supervision, they will require varying amounts of time for the officer to supervise up to standards. The workload concept factors time into the weight that a case receives in assigning it to an officer and for accounting for its contribution to the officer's total responsibilities.

Under a workload approach, individual supervision cases are not all equal. Some are worth more because they have greater requirements for the type and frequency of contact required. Others are worth less, because less is required.

It is important for work to be assessed and recorded in a manner that reflects the priorities of the agency. Thus, if probation and parole agencies are adopting case management strategies which are based on differentiation of case supervision, then the method for assigning and accounting for those cases must accommodate that approach. It does not make sense to count every case as equal in assigning and accounting for total caseload if the basic supervision strategy is to purposely supervise cases differentially. The accounting scheme must also count cases differentially.

The workload concept does that, and thus is a more accurate and fair way to describe officer caseloads. It also, however, makes it more difficult to define an ideal caseload in numbers. This is because it is possible (and very likely) to have caseloads which are made up of different numbers of the various case types.

The process for developing a workload model for a given supervision agency is fairly straightforward, and has been well refined (see NCCD Workload Management brochure, attached). The difficulty comes in the diversity and pluralistic nature of the probation and parole field. The process of setting priorities, and developing and implementing policy and procedures is by and large controlled by the individual agency. There is little that is done in all (or even most) probation and parole agencies with enough consistency of practice to support national **workload** standards. Among the points on which agency policies vary are:

- basis for classification (risk, needs, offense)
- contact standards (type and frequency)
- hours of work, leave policies

- collateral duties

With all these points of variance, it would not be feasible to develop national workload standards.

This fairly lengthy explanation points out why looking at personnel issues in terms of absolute caseload sizes is faulty. Workload measures or caseload scaling are much more realistic approaches to take because they consider the number of cases, contacts and other responsibilities for each, and other job responsibilities that are not related to specific case management.

Another personnel resource that sometimes is overlooked in probation services is the use of volunteers. Many agencies use volunteers very successfully in a variety of capacities, and their services free the time of probation professionals to use their expertise more productively. There are a variety of roles volunteers may play within an agency. Many can assist with routine tasks, such as paperwork, filing, and making telephone calls. Others may be able to work directly with offenders as mentors or in literacy and employment training programs. Still others may serve on boards such as the Reparative Boards in Vermont that provide a community-based accountability structure for offenders. Volunteers may also serve in advisory roles to administrators or line personnel. This is particularly important as probation strives to become more community oriented. Key informants from the community -- whether in formal or informal ways -- will be vital to helping probation understand the community and being accepted by residents. Some volunteers also might be helpful in working with victims of probationers by keeping them updated on aspects of the case, referring them to needed services, and answering questions about the probation process.

In whatever capacity volunteers are used, it is important that they understand the purpose and responsibilities of probation and their role as a partner with probation. For many types of volunteers just discussed, it will be important to provide training, either formally or informally. Training should include how to perform their specific duties as well as issues such as confidentiality and communication.

Program Example
Dakota County, Minnesota Community Corrections Department hires a full time coordinator for volunteers.

Job-Related Tools

A variety of job-related tools may be helpful to probation professionals, ranging from basic office equipment to vehicles. Probation is increasingly finding ways to use technology to assist in achieving its goals. For example, in the description of the virtual offices used in Maricopa County, Arizona probation, cellular telephones and laptop computers were standard operating equipment.

Some agencies hesitate to spend the money necessary for technology tools, but they may need to look at the situation more broadly. Technological equipment may be expensive, but if it saves staff time or allows staff to do a better job, it can be very cost-effective. For example, if staff are unable to complete necessary paperwork promptly because of limited computer access, it may be costing the agency more in wasted staff time than the additional computers would cost.

Information

Information is one of the most valuable resources any probation professional can have. In this "information age" it is increasingly important to have up-to-date information. This can take two forms. First, probation professionals need information that will enhance their job performance, such as the case management information provided by the computerized case management system used in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The more probation officers can understand the specific problems presented by their probationers and have research-based options for intervening with them appropriately, the more likely they are to meet probation's goals of public protection, offender accountability, and offender competency development. Professional books and journals are an important resource, and agencies should budget for the purchase of these, if possible. Where budgets cannot cover such costs, working with local libraries to obtain copies through interlibrary loan will take more time but provide the information. The Internet is increasingly used to obtain information.

There is a plethora of information available on multiple justice-related topics. The Federal Government provides many documents online, as do associations and other groups. Many Web pages have links to other sites that lead to additional information. The box contains some important Web sites that agencies may want to check on a regular bases for general information or related to specific topics.

American Probation and Parole Association

www.appa-net.org

Justice Information Center: National Criminal Justice
Reference Service
www.ncjrs.org/ncjhome.htm

Departments of Corrections Directory
www.tiac.net/users/leprecon/blue.html

National Archive of Criminal Justice Data
www.icpsr.umich.edu/NACJD/home.html

National Association of Probation Executives
www.shsu.edu/cjcenter/CMIT/nape

Another type of information that is equally as valuable is that about offenders. It is now possible to integrate information systems to make background information, as well as current status of offenders much more readily acceptable. Having court, probation, law enforcement, and other related systems linked electronically, can cut down on duplication of work (e.g., collecting background information) and increase the speed with which information is available for decision making. For example, in many localities, the court orders offenders to pay restitution, fees, and fines; the clerk of the court is responsible for actually collecting the money; and probation is charged with monitoring the offender's payments. When all of these activities are handled separately, it is very difficult to coordinate. However, when the court can enter orders directly into a computer that can be accessed by the clerk and probation, and the clerk can enter payments that are instantly accessible by probation, the system can keep track of how the offender is meeting these obligations much better.

Program Examples

Kansas Criminal Justice Information System

For More Information on Integrated Information Systems, see:
And Justice for All: Designing Your Business Case for Integrating Justice Information, by Anthony Cresswell, et al. (2000). Published by the Center for Technology in Government, University of Albany, 1535 Western Ave., Albany, NY. (518) 442-3892.

Other Justice System Resources

Probation agencies also have the opportunity, and perhaps the obligation, to wisely use and conserve other justice system resources. One way in which this can be accomplished is the implementation of graduated sanctions, as suggested by Taxman, Soule, and Gelb (1999). Responding to noncompliant behavior from probationers through the immediate application of incremental sanctions often can increase compliance and deter further inappropriate behavior. When probation personnel apply graduated sanctions appropriately, they may be able to stop the escalation of the probationer's noncompliant behavior to the point where a return to court for revocation proceedings is needed. With already congested dockets, this saves the court's time in handling these cases. Further, as Taxman et al. (1999) point out, with crowded court dockets most probation violators are incarcerated until bail decisions or probation revocation hearings can occur. Thus, scarce jail space also may be used unnecessarily.

Strategy #4: Provide for Strong Enforcement of Probation Conditions and a Quick Response to Violations

Offenders on probation must be held accountable when they fail to comply with conditions of their supervision. Any act of commission or omission that is contrary to the conditions of probation is considered a violation. The violation may result from the offender's commission of a new offense or it may be a technical violation which includes any non-compliance that is not a new offense, including absconding.

The Reinventing Probation Council (2000b) identifies strong enforcement of probation conditions and quick response to violations as a key strategy for holding probationers accountable and establishing probation as a rational system. Too often, offenders have come to expect that they can exhibit two or more instances of non-compliance before action will be taken. The Council advocates enforcement of each and every condition of probation and a timely response to every violation.

While every violation warrants a response, the responses should correspond to the seriousness and frequency of the violation, with incarceration being a final rather than an initial response except for the most serious violations. Jurisdictions may rely upon the discretion of the probation officer to decide responses or they may establish a structured response system. Structured responses typically involve developing written policy, refining procedures, and expanding the range of sanctions for violations (Parent, Wentworth, Burke, and Ney, 1994).

Structured responses to violations may be implemented to make sanctions more consistent, more equitable, and more proportional to the seriousness of the violation or to make sanctions more certain and more swift. They also can serve the purpose of streamlining case flow and improving operating efficiency (Parent et al., 1994).

Taxman et al. (1999, p. 183) define graduated sanctions as:

> . . .structured, incremental responses to noncompliant behavior of probationers while they are under supervision. They are designed to give the probation officer the ability to respond quickly to noncompliant acts through a series of actions such as 1 day in jail, more drug testing, more reporting, or a curfew. The sanctioning process uses modest steps to restrict the offender's liberty to deter future noncompliant acts and ensure the integrity of the court order. The specific sanction depends on factors such as the nature of the violation and whether it is the first violation. Thus, graduated sanctions provide immediate and certain consequences for defiant behavior.

Graduated sanctions provide a range of responses to violations. These sanctions begin with responses imposed by the individual officer and might be discretionary or require supervisory approval. Initial sanctions might include increased reporting, increased drug testing, refusal to allow travel, or referrals to community resources.

A second level of intervention might involve supervisory personnel for what some agencies call staffing or administrative reprimand. This level of sanction involves the probationer, probation officer, and supervisor having a formal meeting. The meeting is used to discuss the problem behaviors, previously attempted solutions, outcomes, and additional strategies to be applied. The results of the meeting become part of the case record and may be used in subsequent revocation proceedings if the noncompliance continues (Parent et al., 1994).

In some cases, the next level of sanctions can be imposed by a hearing officer who has been empowered by the court to hear and make decisions on certain types of cases. Finally, the offender can be returned to court to appear before the judge who could impose the ultimate sanction of revocation and incarceration. The levels of responses are not necessarily imposed sequentially; they are used as appropriate for the level of offense. The use of graduated sanctions expands the range of responses from what formerly was only a choice between continuing supervision or revoking probation and imposing incarceration (Parent et al., 1994).

In addition to strict enforcement of probation conditions and developing a strong response system to violations, probation agencies also need to implement aggressive policy for apprehending absconders from probation. Too often when a probationer fails to report or appears to have left the jurisdiction, probation personnel file a violation, issue a warrant, and wait to see if a law enforcement agency happens to pick up the absconder on another charge. Probation administrators need to implement a system to pro-actively search, apprehend, and return absconders to the sentencing jurisdiction. It appears that most absconders remain in their local area, often making no efforts to hide their identity, so apprehension can often be accomplished by a systematic search of public records. The following are some methods used by various jurisdictions for locating absconders (Parent et al., 1994):

Program examples:

***Enforcement and graduated sanctions**:*

Massachusetts Office of Community Corrections

New Jersey Supervision Services Administrative Office of the Courts

Operation Night Light

Absconder apprehension:

McLennan County Community
Waco, TX

Suffolk County Probation
Yaphank, NY

Maricopa County Adult Probation Department
Phoenix, AZ 85030

- Assigning cases to clerical staff to conduct searches of computerized records of public agencies and utilities,

- Requiring the assigned probation officer to take certain steps on a regular, perhaps monthly, basis to locate absconders,

- Creating a special fugitive unit to track absconders,

- Seeking assistance from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and

- Hiring private contractors to conduct records searches.

Strategy #5: Develop Partners in the Community

Within a community justice framework, the need to establish enduring partnerships with the citizenry, other agencies, and local interest groups is critical to the success of probation. Forming such partnerships increases probation's leverage in dealing with offenders and contributes to a shared co-ownership for managing the risk such offenders present under community supervision. What this demands is that the community be involved in the business of community supervision. In sharp contrast to the trend toward the insulation of the justice system from the community, this shift will require that probation agencies practice inclusiveness by reaching out well beyond the traditional boundaries that currently guide their organization's interactions with others (Hinzman, 1999).

Reinventing Probation Council, 2000b

> Reinventing Probation Council, 2000b, p. 27
>
> . . .[T]here is a pressing need to bring in the expertise of community-based, non-professionals as full participants in justice system processes if those outcomes most valued by the citizenry are to be achieved (Rhine and Hinzman 2000). . . .Ultimately, real partnering requires that professionals and non-professionals willingly share their expertise in a non-traditional, problem-solving and decision-making capacity (Clear and Karp 1998)

The foregoing statement provides a concise summary of what the Reinventing Probation Council addresses with their fifth strategy. Community members can be involved with all aspects of probation including developing policies, initiating programs, supervising offenders, and providing other needed services. A variety of configurations of citizens can become involved in the business of probation, including advisory boards, neighborhood associations, community justice centers or citizens' boards of directors, among others (Reinventing Probation Council, 2000b).

Citizens who are invited to participate in promoting public safety in their neighborhoods may fill a variety of roles. Crime watch groups, volunteers and mentors to probations, community service monitors, members of victim impact panels, participants in sentencing and mediation groups, and volunteers on community reparative boards are some of the types of services citizens can render (Reinventing Probation Council, 2000b).

There are many good examples of developing working partnerships with communities, and the illustration in the box is provided as a sample.

Not only must probation develop relationships with local citizens, but collaborative relationships with other service providers also are vital. Specific partnerships will vary by communities, but among those to be considered are law enforcement, other corrections

Program Example

Five Community Justice Centers have been created by the Maricopa County Juvenile Probation Department located in areas with the highest concentration of juvenile offenders under supervision. The staff assigned to these centers cross division lines and work as a team with the surrounding community in community-organized cleanups, economic development, and the development of accessible and needed services within the neighborhood. Probation offices are used for tutoring, community and treatment groups, and as a meeting place for Community Justice Committees. The latter involve 400 plus volunteers who meet in panels of three with a Juvenile Probation Officer, victims, and individual offenders and their families. The committees seek to achieve a consensus of the consequences for cases approved for diversion and supervise the completion of those consequences.

Reinventing Probation Council, 2000b, p. 27

programs, health and human services agencies, schools, faith organizations, and neighborhood groups. When working with such organizations it is advisable to work out agreements for resource sharing, information sharing, and joint strategies (Reinventing Probation Council, 2000b).

Suggested Reading
- Community Justice Concepts and Strategies
- Restoring Hope through Community Partnerships: The Real Deal in Crime Control
- Promising Victim-Related Practices and Strategies in Probation and Parole

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Program Examples

Operation Night Light in Boston brings together police and probation to stem the tide of violence in the city. Dramatic results have been noted in the city's homicide rates.

In the Sixth Judicial District of Iowa the Community Corrections Improvement Association was developed as a private nonprofit foundation to develop and operate proactive and preventive programs, including neighborhood organizations.

Community Corrections Advisory Committee
Multnomah County, OR

Partners Against Crime (Mentoring Program)
Detroit, MI

Strategy #6: Establish Performance-Based Initiatives

Successful probation agencies must develop and implement strong program models. This paper has advocated the integration of four perspectives as foundations for program development, and these have been woven into the strategies recommended by the Reinventing Probation Council:

- *Community justice* which builds partnerships in the community to prevent crime, solve problems, and repair the harm crime has caused.
- *Restorative justice* which emphasizes holding offenders accountable for making amends for their unlawful behavior in order to return crime victims and communities, as nearly as possible, to their condition before the crime occurred.
- *Balanced Approach* which includes goals of community protection, offender accountability, and offender competency development.
- *"What Works"* that stresses research-based strategies to change the behavior of high-risk offenders.

> Reinventing Probation Council, 2000b, p. 29

> Reducing the threat of risk or harm presented by offenders requires the development of programmatic interventions that connect offenders to environments that have prosocial supports and structure.

These are, admittedly, overlapping constructs. While each approach alone partially addresses the development of effective probation programming, combined they provide a comprehensive direction for probation agencies. The sixth strategy proposed by the Reinventing Probation Council (2000b) stresses the development and implementation of performance-based

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Program Examples

Georgia Board of Pardons & Parole
Atlanta, GA

Dakota County Community Corrections
Hastings, MN 55033

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initiatives. To achieve this aim, agencies must take two courses of action:

- draw from the research literature on effective programs, and implement those approaches that have been proven to be successful, and
- evaluate programs that are implemented within the agency to ensure they are carried out appropriately and are achieving their stated purpose and goals.

Effective Programs

Community Justice. Employing the concepts of community justice is relatively recent in probation. Therefore, few programs have generated formal research findings. However, Operation Night Light in Boston has shown some dramatic success. Troubled neighborhoods in Boston were experiencing significant crime problems including homicides and serious assaults due to gang infiltration, widespread cocaine trafficking, and proliferation of trade in guns. Probation officers teamed with police officers began supervising probationers closely by making home visits during evening hours to assure youth were complying with curfews and other orders of probation. The police-probation teams also made their presence known in troubled neighborhoods and citizens became more aware that they were available to deal with unlawful behavior. At the same time, outreach workers were hired to intervene with youth in the neighborhoods, job assistance programs for youth were developed, faith-based programs were instituted, and personal advocacy on behalf of individual youth began to occur. Although a combination of multiple factors are responsible for the outcomes and cannot be contributed to any one component of the approach, the effects of these interventions were dramatic. Homicides in Boston fell from a high of 98 deaths during 1993 to 43 in 1997. Among young people (16 and under) homicides declined from 16 in 1993 to only one in 1996 and one in 1997 (Corbett, 1998).

A federal initiative, Weed and Seed, used a community policing design but was built on principles similar to those for community probation practice. The aims of the program were

to build stronger links between citizens and government, solve neighborhood problems, and restore the harm done to communities and victims by crime. Strategies involved law enforcement efforts to remove violent offenders, drug traffickers, and other criminals from targeted areas, infusion of human services and neighborhood revitalization efforts to prevent and deter further crime in the targeted areas, and enhanced community-police partnerships in solving community problems. Evaluation data in 1995 showed declines in major crimes in most of the target areas after one year of Weed and Seed operation (Community Justice Exchange Website, www.communityjustice.org).

Balanced and Restorative Justice. Like community justice, full implementation of Balanced and Restorative Justice programs in probation are relatively recent, and evaluations are limited. However, there is both statistical and anecdotal evidence of the effectiveness of Balanced and Restorative Justice approaches. One study targeted the Restorative Resolutions program in Winnipeg, Canada. Offenders were referred to the program if they were likely to be incarcerated for at least six months. Community-based supervision plans were developed with input from victims. More than 90 percent of the 174 offenders in the program were classified as medium to high risk. Thus, the program was accurately targeting offenders for community supervision who otherwise would have been incarcerated. Victim offender meetings, restitution payments to victims, and community service work were the most frequently used methods to involve victims and have the offender repair the harm caused by the crime. Many victims were reluctant to meet with offenders, so only 25 victim-offender meetings occurred. However, besides these 25 victims, offenders made written apologies to 58 other victims. More than three-fourths of the victims (78.6%) wrote victim impact statements also. Half of the victims received restitution payments, and community services was applied to 96 percent of the offenders. Offenders from the program were followed for a year and were matched with similar offenders who were inmates or probationers not taking part in the program. Only 5.3 percent of the program clients were convicted of a new offense during the study period, compared with 16.1 percent of the comparison group. Offenders in the program also were involved in rehabilitative treatment programs (Bonta, Wallace-Capretta, & Rooney, 1998). This program clearly was successful in addressing the goals of the balanced approach including accountability to victims for the harm caused by the crime, community safety as evidenced by reduced recidivism, and competency development through the rehabilitative component.

What Works. The research supporting the effectiveness of this approach has been cited throughout this document. The most effective programs in reducing offender recidivism target high risk offenders with programming to address dynamic risk factors, such as antisocial

attitudes, values and beliefs, delinquent and criminal peers, self-control, self-management and problem-solving skills. To obtain the most promising outcomes, it is important to match offenders' learning styles with appropriate program placements. These interventions are most effective when staff working with offenders are respectful, caring, concerned, interested, enthusiastic, and engaged (Reinventing Probation Council, 2000b).

Program Evaluations

To continue improving the probation field, programs need to evaluate program processes and outcomes. It is only by learning from both successes and failures that progress is made.

Process evaluations examine program components to determine whether or not they were implemented properly. Outcome evaluations measure the success or failure of the program in achieving its goals. Five steps are involved in an evaluation process (Boone & Fulton, 1995):
- State goals in behavioral terms
- Develop measurement instruments
- Collect data
- Interpret findings
- Make recommendations.

Four types of outcome evaluations can be designed. The most appropriate depends on factors such as time, money, and expertise available. It is important to select designs with care to ensure that the evaluation findings reflect the intended purpose and will be accepted and understood by the appropriate audiences. These designs include (Boone & Fulton, 1995):
- before and after comparisons that measure criteria before and after program interventions;
- time/trend projections of pre/post program that measure criteria over several intervals and project future trends;
- cohort comparisons, that measure changes in similar groups where one receives the program services and the other group does not receive them; and
- randomized evaluations in which identical groups are randomly assigned to receive the program or not to receive the program's interventions.

Suggested Reading

- Results-Driven Management: Implementing Performance-Based Measures in Community Corrections

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Strategy #7: Cultivate Strong Leadership

Leadership requires the capacity to set a course toward a goal and then draw others along the same path through persuasion, influence, and power.

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Reinventing Probation Council, 2000b, p. 33
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(*Reconnecting Youth & Community:*
A Youth Development Approach, 1996, p. 8)

Leadership is not synonymous with hierarchical position with an organization. Not all administrators and managers are effective leaders. However, to undergo change effective leadership is required. Someone (or a small group of individuals) always has to step forward to provide guidance and direction for change. Leadership provides vision and focus for growth. Strong, confident leaders draw on others' talents and skills and empower them to think creatively (*Reconnecting Youth & Community. . .*, 1996, p. 7).

> Effective leadership is an indispensable element when it comes to reengineering the field of probation. It requires a willingness to create something of public value by steering an agency toward a vision that energizes and a philosophy of management that empowers all staff. Ultimately, it demands that those who are entrusted with the mantle of leadership embrace accountability for producing outcomes that matter.

Productive leadership requires sound principles, effective analysis, and a belief that change requires the involvement of others. Leaders must inspire and motivate others. They provide a vision that focuses on the larger picture and on long-term growth and development.   There are several characteristics required for leadership (Reconnecting Youth & Community. . ., 1996, p. 7):

- Leadership requires courage. Most truly challenging situations demand not only imaginative solutions but also the tenacity to carry them out.
- Leadership is not easy although the results of true leadership make future efforts easier over time.
- Leadership requires the ability to listen, as well as an openness to, and respect for, diversity and difference of opinion.

- Leadership can feel demanding and isolating but results in a sense of belonging and community.
- Leadership requires the ability to put aside personal bias or desires in decision-making.
- Leadership is the ability to make decisions, live with the consequences, accept the blame, share the credit, and learn from the experience.

Clear (1999) asserts that correctional leaders should embrace three major attitudinal shifts to be effective in the process of reinventing probation:

- Change from the "get tough" rhetoric often typical of public policy statements on corrections to an agenda that targets the community's quality of life. This moves the discourse toward the goal of correctional work and away from the means of punishment.
- Move beyond professionalism to embrace the democracy of citizen partnerships. While not denying the importance of professionalism, claims to special expertise can exclude meaningful citizen participation or involvement in decision-making.
- Encourage staff to go beyond the standard routines of offender case management to the creativity of problem-solving.

Suggested Reading

-      Don't Negotiate with Leprechauns: A Handbook of Management Principles which Promote Dynamic Change and Innovation